HUMAN EVENTS

Volume XII, No. 49 Saturday, December 3, 1955 Washington, D. C.

News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

Between Gettysburg and Washington: The scramble to assign responsibility for the failure of the Geneva Conference is on with a vengeance. Democratic leaders now pin it on the "Eisenhower Administration," thus getting closer to outright criticism of the President than formerly — an indication that these leaders think public opinion is veering that way.

Some in Washington who had been critical of attending any such conference at all believe that putting the blame on Ike and Dulles is quite unfair, at least when the criticism comes from the Democrats. Much responsibility for the fruitless decision to go to Geneva — it is felt — should lie on the shoulders of the Democrats, particularly Senator George. The latter served as a sort of bellwether for the flock of "liberal" commentators who pushed for the face-to-face meeting between the President and the Soviet leaders. Now, when the effort has flopped the same elements are the most ready to criticize. The maneuver has a familiar pattern.

Actually, those on the inside now say that both Ike and Dulles were very reluctant to go to the Big Four meeting and yielded partly to British, but also to Democratic "liberal" pressure voiced by Senator George.

However, it is now reported that a stiffening tendency has been developing within the Administration, overcoming various contrary efforts by the "liberals" in the White House. The effort to make Dulles the scapegoat for the Geneva debacle has failed — all agree. This operation, of the last month, was said to have been initiated by the Nelson Rockefeller-Milton Eisenhower-Harold Stassen group of presidential advisers; the objective was the ousting of Dulles and his replacement by Rockefeller, now psychological warfare assistant in the White House. Dulles emerged from the business unscathed and Rockefeller's stock is low.

However, this "liberal" Palace Guard crowd did succeed in one matter: the toning down of Secretary Dulles' speech on his return from Geneva. HUMAN EVENTS learns exclusively that Dulles had drafted a "strong" arraignment of the Muscovites for the failure of the conference. In one passage, he had recited how he had taunted Molotov for the latter's refusal to grant free elections in Eastern (puppet) Germany, saying something like this: "Mr. Molotov are you afraid to permit these people to freely exercise their choice?" This passage together with other "strong" ones, was eliminated by Mr. Milton Eisenhower — we learn. Indeed, it was Milton who did the job of revision of the speech.

It is not true, as has been reported, that the President worked on the Dulles speech. It is authoritatively remarked that the President was not able, because of his illness, to do such a job. This explanation makes the more mysterious Chairman Leonard Hall's confidence that the President is well enough to run again.

The stiffening tendency, above described, to take a firmer stand against Soviet diplomacy and warmongering is noted in the last few days in an analysis of the U.S. position of strength in the Far East, by Constantine Brown, well-informed foreign editor of the Washington *Evening Star*. Brown reports that American forces from Okinawa to the Philippines exceed in "walloping power," although not in numbers, "our strength at the height of the war against Japan." In case the Chinese Reds seek to cause trouble in Korea or in the Formosa straits, says Brown, "they will have the most disastrous experience in their history."

Published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
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In such a case, according to Brown, they will not have the benefit of a "sanctuary," as they did in the Korean war.

White House Conference on Education: Whatever else the White House Conference on Education proved, it certainly revealed how strongly the professional educationists dominated the scene. All who watched from the ringside the confusing proceedings of the past few days agree to this conclusion — even many of the left-wing reporters who covered the story. "This massive conference has been taken over by the pros," wrote the staff reporter for the *Washington Post*, a paper energetically plumping for federal aid to education and the NEA line. Billed as a "grass roots" conference, the meeting "smelled to high heaven" — as one critic put it — of the professionals of the NEA (National Education Association).

Experienced observers say that actually the pros had stacked the conference during a period of a year and a half, through the agency of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools — an organization filled with those who wanted federal spending on the schools of the country. (See "A Front for Nationalized Education," by Felix Wittmer, in HUMAN EVENTS, November 24, 1954.) In a majority of states, the packing of the state levels of organization went on over many months. Moreover the pros substituted for normal parliamentary procedure a complicated and weird process which they called "group dynamics" — a process tried out in Washington this week, to the indignation of many in the press, even including liberals. The best way of describing "group dynamics" is to say that, when opponents of federal collectivism get out of hand in any discussion group, the pros would refer that group's decision or a stalemate to a higher group. The higher you get, it seems, the more chance the pros have of controlling the eventual recommendations. Real voting on decisions, with majority and minority reports, is one thing the professionals seek to avoid. In short, many here the past week guffawed at the application of the term "democratic" to what went on in the White House conference.

Incidentally, the taxpayer picks up the tab for the cost of this affair in the amount of over one million dollars.

Kansas Pro-Labor Republican Governor: Most Kansans are watching incredulously the splash which the Leftist press is giving to their governor, Fred Hall, who calls himself a Republican. When Kansans first heard and read of Governor Hall as a dark horse in the GOP presidential stables — by way of Drew Pearson's column — the reception in the state was one of amusement. Then came the recent trip to New York, and the attendant considerable publicity. The amazement has been general — except to youthful Governor Hall himself, who, it seems, is never surprised by his own success.

In 1950 Hall entered the Republican primaries as a candidate for Lieutenant Governor. In a field of nine candidates, Hall was the only one from west of U.S. Highway 81, which bisects Kansas. He got almost solid support from Western Kansas; the other eight candidates divided the more heavily populated Eastern Kansas; Hall received 44,016 out of some 180,000 votes cast as against the nearest competitor's 32,683. Thus he got on the party escalator which, in Republican Kansas, lifted him to the governorship in 1954.

In the 1955 session of the Legislature, the Kansas Governor struck a blow for organized labor by vetoing the so-called "right-to-work" bill which barely failed to pass over his veto. Governor Hall accepted an invitation to speak to the Young Republicans at their national convention in Detroit. He not only denounced the enemies of Labor, but also called on the Republican party to divest itself of reactionary "Rip Van Winkle" leaders who "were afraid of creeping socialism."

Labor leaders have been looking for a nationally-known young Republican — Hall is 39 — and the Kansas governor, since he has been picked up by the Liberal Republicans and the ADA, seems to fill the bill.

Raymond Moley said about Hall's speech in New York: "The speech might well have been uttered by Candidate Stevenson, except that the Illinois man would have done it more gracefully and intelligently."

The popular description of Hall in Kansas is "a little two-bit piece of counterfeit political currency."

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Free Enterprise Wins: Private power achieved a smashing victory in an election in the State of Washington — so smashing that it is hailed as possessing wide national significance. The voters in Stevens County, Washington, in an election on November 22, chose private power over public power to serve their needs — by an over 2 to 1 majority. The vote was in favor of the sale of the local public utility district facilities to the Washington Water Power Company, a private power concern. In the nation's capital, the decision was regarded with astonishment, because the "liberal press" had given the State of Washington the reputation of being overwhelmingly for public power.

The issue was simple, the proposition put to the voters being: "Shall Public Utility District No. 1 sell its transmission distribution and associated facilities to the Washington Water Power Company for $2,905,000?"

The struggle did not importantly concern rates, nor partisan politics (the county being about 50/50 Democrat and Republican). The fight was regarded as "ideological," by the principal county newspaper, the *Statesman-Examiner*. The crusading president of the private company, Kinsey M. Robinson, said: "The overwhelming vote of confidence given the Washington Water Power Company by the people of Stevens County is to me a clear-cut indication that the majority of the American people anywhere will vote in favor of free enterprise if they are only given the opportunity." The head of the public power elements, Joe Garvey, conceded defeat saying, "there must be a trend" toward private power. "We got a real trouncing," Garvey remarked.

In both Stevens County and in Washington, D. C., there is expectation that the outcome may well become a battlecry in the coming national presidential campaign.

Letter from JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, U.S. Senator from Maryland: "In a world divided by antagonistic ideologies, in a climate of alternating hot and cold antipathies, it is refreshing to read the incisive analyses of contemporary affairs as presented weekly in your HUMAN EVENTS newsletter. To those dedicated to the cherished traditions of the American way of life, HUMAN EVENTS places in clear perspective the undeniable and irreconcilable controversies of our time."

Desegregation Issue: Big things are brewing in Virginia on the desegregation question, reports our Richmond correspondent. Top leaders in the Democratic Party, in revolt against the Supreme Court decision on segregation, are considering launching a novel state legislative proposal. It will declare that the power to operate separate and unequal schools was prohibited to the states by the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. Southern states agreed to that — the argument runs — but they reject the doctrine that states can not operate separate but equal schools, because that is not written into the Constitution. Until it is so written — it is argued — the Southern states recognize no obligation to obey an unconstitutional mandate of the high court. But how will the Southern states legally act to check the Supreme Court decision?

The Richmond *News-Leader* answers this question (Nov. 21, 22 and 23) by raising the "right of interposition" by a state legislature — a right asserted successfully by Georgia, Kentucky and Virginia in the last decade of the 18th Century (and the first decade of the constitutional Republic). Georgia raised "interposition" in 1792 on the matter of the extension of the powers of the Federal judiciary to claims brought against a sovereign state. The state of Georgia refused to pay a claim approved by a Federal Court, which ordered Georgia to pay. The struggle lasted until 1795 when the states upheld Georgia by passing the 11th Amendment to the Constitution. Then, in the struggle over the Alien and Sedition Acts, two states — Kentucky and Virginia — invoked the same right as had Georgia (with Jefferson and Madison leading the revolt). This issue was never judicially met because the Sedition Act expired by its own terms in 1801, and by then, the Jefferson political revolution was sweeping the country.

Hence, today, the "right of interposition" by such a legislative declaration in Virginia looms as a factor in the developing battle over the enforcement of the Supreme Court decision on segregation.

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World Bank and Fund Meetings: This year the annual meeting of the governors of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund was held at Istanbul, Turkey. Was it successful? One delegate on his return reported that nothing of any significance had been accomplished but — he added in all seriousness — "the sightseeing was wonderful and we had every afternoon free." An Englishman at Istanbul who attended quipped: "Never have so many important people come such distances at such great expense to do so little!" The expense referred to shows up in the budget of the two institutions. It totalled $794,000. Side trips which delegates and staffs made in Greece, Italy, France, Britain and other tarrying points en route home were, excepting for the stopover privileges, at their own expense. Wives presumably cost extra, unlike Congressional junkets that start in Washington.

These annual international junkets of Fund and Bank alternate between Washington and some foreign city. Paris, London and Mexico City already have entertained these experienced world travelers and their many invited guests, mostly investment bankers from New York and elsewhere who are in a position to buy World Bank bonds.

Beyond question there is advantage in central bankers, Treasury officials, Congressmen, Senators and aides from different parts of the world getting to know each other better and exchanging views. The questions raised in Washington are: Need these be done on so expensive a scale? And should it be required that the world gathering take place every year? This year it was known well in advance that there was nothing much to be done at Istanbul. In that case, why should not this costly junket have been skipped in 1955? And why should the meetings not always be held in Washington? Then it would be unnecessary to send large staffs from Fund and Bank and the U.S. Government away from home. The 1954 meeting in Washington cost "only" $228,000.

Between Covers: In the *American Mercury* for December, David Shea Teeple (see his piece in HUMAN EVENTS, "Science, Secrecy and Security," July 30, 1955) describes the "Atoms for Peace" program for exporting atomic reactors and fissionable materials as "America's Most Dangerous Experiment," a venture "which could be disastrous and perhaps fatal to our existence as a nation." This former assistant to Lewis Strauss on the Atomic Energy Commission buttresses his case with a wealth of scientific testimony and documentation.

● A pamphlet, "Needed: A Southern Democratic Party," by James M. Thomson, has just been published by the author at the Blue Ridge Press, Berryville, Virginia. Mr. Thomson is former publisher of the New Orleans *Item* and, in 1952 published a pamphlet (mentioned in HUMAN EVENTS) on realignment of parties. The new pamphlet may be obtained on request by writing The Blue Ridge Press, Berryville, Virginia, or James M. Thomson, Gaylord, Clarke County, Virginia.

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HUMAN EVENTS, 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., is a weekly newsletter reporting from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. Published usually in two sections: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article section. Entered as second class matter at Washington, D.C. Copyright 1955.

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Volume XII, No. 49 HUMAN EVENTS December 3, 1955

Article Section

PEARL HARBOR

The Aftermath of December 7, 1941

By GEORGE MORGENSTERN

AS WE ARRIVE once more at the anniversary of Pearl Harbor, it is worth taking stock of our condition. In the 14 years since that day which Mr. Roosevelt prophesied would "live in infamy," the world — to Americans — has become an unfamiliar place. But the unfamiliar, with time, becomes the familiar. So it has been with our disjointed time and universe.

In a technical, military sense, we won the war into which Roosevelt, with the assistance of the Japanese, shoved us on December 7, 1941. With familiar idealism, we spurned spoils and — though Roosevelt and Winston Churchill had averred in the Atlantic Charter that no other nation should have them either — we saw, as if in a fog, that these men were not averse to confirming the title of Communism to vast, illgotten gains.

We emerged from that war with nothing tangible. The United Nations was bestowed upon us in fulfillment of the Wilsonian prescription of lasting peace through a "parliament of man." This debating society had a sufficiency of tongues, but no teeth. When it became apparent that the Soviet Union, even after Yalta, was insatiable, the Democrats of the Truman succession began seeking military alliances outside UN. They hastily rushed into remilitarization and we found ourselves in the "cold war." With Korea, the conflict with Communism heated up. We endeavored to supply UN with its missing dentures. They clacked hollowly at the 38th Parallel as Truman and Secretary of State Acheson restrained General MacArthur from the rude impulse to teach a lasting lesson.

Today the national government takes from us in taxes a third more than it sweated from us at the height of World War II. Its disbursements for the military establishment and for the purpose of keeping reluctant allies in line approximate the highest revenue collections of the years of the Second World War. Having made the world safe for Communism, the United States now dickers to no purpose with the Communists in empty hopes of elusive pledges of a "peace" which no one could believe. And at Geneva recently the Soviet foreign commissar openly stated his confidence that the future belongs to Communism. "Tomorrow the world," the Nazis once were said to have sung. Today that old refrain is in Communist mouths, and it seems much less like idle boasting.

THERE IS NO effect without a cause. This tale of national miscalculation verging on idiocy had its beginning. That beginning lay in the sweeping dreams of the Wilsonian internationalists that perpetual war was the way to perpetual peace — that perpetual peace could only be had through international organization; that international organization could only be had by resort to war, and that once the war had brought about international organization, then the international organization should war, if need be, on every washday to enforce the peace against all transgressors.

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Mr. Wilson was denied his dream as it involved the United States. Sixteen years later Senator Connally of Texas bellowed that the blood of crucified humanity smeared the chamber of the United States Senate because the reservationists of 1919 would not take the League of Nations whole. He was arguing, then, for Roosevelt's United Nations. For Roosevelt, as the Democratic Vice Presidential standard bearer of 1920, had inherited the Wilsonian legacy of the League, had campaigned for it, lost with it, but cherished it, although — to win nomination in 1932 — he had to oblige William Randolph Hearst by forswearing it.

But the charm of that idea persisted, so that, according to Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles, Roosevelt in 1937 decided Japan must be stopped in North China by a policy of "collective security" embodying a trade embargo and naval blockade in concert with Britain. This was still in his mind when he made the Chicago "quarantine" speech in October of that year. But Welles sadly recounts that, because of "isolationist sentiment," it proved "wholly impossible for him for a period of exactly four years to carry out the policy which he believed vitally important to our security."

IN FOUR YEARS, conditions were opportune. There was a general war in Europe. The non-declared Sino-Japanese war continued. The conditions which had appealed to Wilson as propitious for the establishment of his cherished scheme of international organization were ready-made for Roosevelt. American interests were nowhere involved. But Roosevelt had decided on his enemies, and his friends. His sympathies were never concealed. He did not ask his countrymen, as even Wilson had done, to remain neutral in thought. Neutrality was not his intention. True, to win re-election in 1940, he was obliged to pledge "again and again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." But, as his speech writer, the late Robert E. Sherwood, remarked, "The risk of future embarrassment was negligible as compared with the risk of losing the election."

Within a week after the British declaration of war in 1939, Mr. Roosevelt was in secret correspondence with Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty and not yet Prime Minister. The whole of this correspondence is locked away in the archives, and Tyler Kent, a code clerk in the American embassy in London, was imprisoned under the British official secrets act on a charge of trying to leak it out. When Churchill became Prime Minister, after the rout in Europe, Roosevelt edged rapidly toward non-declared belligerency. He gave arms and destroyers to Britain in contravention of international law. British airmen were brought here to train. After the 1940 election, he dropped all pretenses. The Lend-Lease Act was open warfare. So was the occupation by a technically neutral United States of German-occupied Denmark's dependencies, Greenland and Iceland.

American troops were not shooting yet simply because American public and Congressional opinion was overwhelmingly against war — a "kind of thinking," Welles confesses, "(which) still prevailed in the Congress and throughout the country up to and including the final days before Pearl Harbor."

But Roosevelt finally did promote the occasion to order the American Navy to "shoot on sight" upon meeting German or Italian air or naval units. He attempted to blow up encounters at sea, notably the *Reuben James* and *Greer* incidents, into occasions for war, but, as the records of Hitler's conferences with the German naval

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leaders were to demonstrate after the war, the Fuehrer would not oblige. One of these German comments remarks, "The United States government is disappointed with this curious attitude on the part of Germany, since one of the most important factors in preparing the American people for war is thus eliminated."

WHAT THEN? Why, war by another route — through the Pacific! The perspicacious Japanese ambassador to Washington, Admiral Nomura, had discerned the plot as early as September 16, 1941, when Roosevelt returned from the Atlantic conference with Churchill to deliver, at British instigation, an admonition to Japan amounting to a suspended threat of war. "I understand," Nomura informed the Foreign Office in Tokyo, "that the British believe that if they could have a Japanese-American war started at the back door, there would be a good prospect of getting the United States to participate in the European war."

That had been the scheme ever since January-March, 1941, when high British officers, smuggled into Washington in civilian clothes as ostensible members of the British Purchasing Commission, concluded a secret master war plan in concert with their American opposite numbers. A principal assumption was that, if the United States became engaged in war with Japan without the involvement of Germany, the Roosevelt government "would, if possible, initiate efforts to bring Germany into the war against us in order that we would be able to give strong support to the United Kingdom in Europe." Indeed, the Pacific, as MacArthur later was to discover, was written off as an entirely subsidiary theater. Japan was not designated as a prime antagonist — it was a means to an end. Through its tripartite alliance with Germany and Italy, it would provide an automatic means of overcoming Hitler's non-cooperation so that the United States could barge into the war in Europe.

ROOSEVELT'S CONSUMMATION of this strategy was accomplished by continuous and concerted pressure. Economic sanctions, especially affecting oil and steel scrap, threatened Japan's existence. In the area of diplomacy, the State Department tactic was to rebuff every overture, although, through the eleventh month of 1941, Japan nowhere was in direct issue with the United States or even with its British and Dutch friends.

Through the fortuitous fact that American crypto-analytic experts had succeeded, in August, 1940, in breaking the most secure of the Japanese machine codes, Roosevelt and his civilian and military advisers were able at all times up to Pearl Harbor to read Japanese intentions in advance and to anticipate Japanese moves, if they chose. All that they did not know was that, in a series of Imperial conferences, Japan had resolved to fight if there was no other way out — and the Japanese Premier, Prince Konoye, had insisted that there must be another way out, through the successful conclusion of negotiations. After Roosevelt's warning upon his return from the Atlantic conference, Konoye desperately appealed to Roosevelt to do him the same courtesy he had granted Churchill by meeting in personal conference. But Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull always managed to sidetrack this proposal, until at last, Konoye was obliged to resign his seals of office.

So events rushed towards doomsday. Japan's formula for a settlement was spurned. The idea of a temporary settlement, or *modus vivendi,* "in the nature of a truce," was rejected, and, on November 26, Hull submitted ten conditions to Japan which required little less than absolute

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capitulation. Hull had no doubt of the effect. He told Secretary of War Stimson, "I have washed my hands of it and it is now in the hands of you and Knox — the Army and the Navy."

This step was taken despite knowledge of everyone concerned that Japan had set a deadline of November 28, when, if no diplomatic solution had been achieved, "things are automatically going to happen." What they were was not difficult to imagine. The decoded Tokyo messages (known as *Magic*) were specifying war if diplomacy failed. That the United States and Britain would be Japan's enemies had been apparent since November 14. After the Hull note, Washington knew almost at once of its rejection. Roosevelt and his associates read the coded instructions to the Japanese embassy to stall and keep up pretenses until whatever was "automatically going to happen" did happen. It knew that the only formidable concentration of American power within Japanese reach was the Pacific Fleet, berthed, by Roosevelt's orders, at Pearl Harbor. It knew from *Magic* that Japanese spies had plotted for Tokyo the berthing of every vessel.

On the sixth of December a series of final coded messages began reaching Washington from Tokyo. They were decoded at once and circulated to the highest American officials. By that night, all but the last section of the 14 part Japanese response to Hull was at hand. Roosevelt read these intercepted messages and cried, "This means war!" He reached Admiral Stark, the chief of naval operations, but Stark said that Roosevelt "did not, certainly did not, impress me that it was anything that required action." So something that "meant war" did not "require action."

The following morning the final Japanese section, stating that the hope of preserving peace in the Pacific in cooperation with the United States "has finally been lost," was available, together with explicit instructions to Nomura to hand the note to Hull precisely at 1 p.m. As Navy intelligence officers quickly pointed out, that would be 7:30 a.m. in Hawaii, the optimum time for surprise attack.

No warning of these ominous and obvious developments had yet gone to the fleet. Gen. Marshall, the Army chief of staff, mysteriously absent the night before, was now off riding in Rock Creek Park. When he was finally induced to come to his office, he drafted an ambiguous message to Pacific commanders and, with the powerful Navy and FBI transmitters at his disposal, with a scrambler telephone with a direct connection to Oahu at his elbow, sent the warning by commercial radio. When it finally arrived and was decoded in Hawaii, a Japanese attacking carrier air fleet of 351 planes had flown away more than seven hours earlier, leaving eight American battleships knocked out, Pearl Harbor a shambles, 3,000 Americans dead, and America at war.

Thus, as Stimson had put it, the dilemma of "maneuvering" Japan into firing the first shot had been "solved" and war had come in a way which would overcome public opposition and "unite all our people."

That's how we got where we are.

George Morgenstern, the author of the first book revealing the truth of the great disaster, *Pearl Harbor —The Story of the Secret War* (Devin-Adair, 1947), has contributed other articles to HUMAN EVENTS.

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